

The University of Chicago

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION
AND DISORGANIZATION IN AN
ARIZONA YAQUI VILLAGE

A PART OF A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE
SOCIAL SCIENCES IN CANDIDACY FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
1939

By
EDWARD HOLLAND SPICER

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

1946

The University of Chicago

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION
AND DISORGANIZATION IN AN
ARIZONA YAQUI VILLAGE

A PART OF A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE
SOCIAL SCIENCES IN CANDIDACY FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
1939

By
EDWARD HOLLAND SPICER



CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
1946



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

CHAPTER XII

ORGANIZATION AND CONFLICT

Pascua is a community organized basically along the lines of a primitive society yet having its existence in the setting of a mobile, heterogeneous urban environment. There is a definite incongruity between the village and its setting. Moreover, the primitive, or folk, form of the village organization is the instrument for social cooperation of a rather heterogeneous group of persons. That is to say that diversity in life experiences of individuals is not confined to the surrounding city but extends also into the village. The people of Pascua, as should be clear from foregoing chapters, have not had that uniformity in life experience which we associate with the participants in an isolated primitive society. Beginning in different parts of Sonora, lives of both men and women have varied in respect to contact with Mexicans, in experiences after arrival in the United States, in extent of contact with the values of Mexican Yaqui culture, and finally in degree of acceptance of the social values set up in Pascua Village. It should be clear that it would be extremely misleading to attempt to summarize the cultural forms of the village by describing a typical life cycle. In terms of the details of orientation in social life from birth to death, there is no typical Pascuan, male or female. Yet the formal social structure of the village at present has unmistakable characteristics of a homogeneous primitive community.

The village may be described in much the same terms in

which we describe a primitive society, that is, in terms of interlocking and overlapping social structures which effect a close integration of the individuals composing the village. The basic importance of kinship cannot be overlooked in the society. The ultimate sanctions are supernatural and these permeate the whole social structure. It can be said with much truth that the society of Pascua constitutes a closely integrated whole comprising institutions designed to promote a high degree of that permanence and fixity in the channels of social interaction and consequent personalizing of the individuals in the society which characterizes a primitive community. It is not too much to say this so long as we omit from consideration the economic aspects of life in Pascua. The moment that we consider them we are forced to admit that, although Pascua is perhaps fundamentally organized like a primitive society, there is a feature of life in the village which does not fit with this interpretation. It is the purpose of the present chapter to analyze the relationships that exist between the basic social structure of the village and its economic life.

The Nature of the Social Organization

The Members of the Society

In our study of Pascua we have focused our attention on a number of people who live in a given small area on the outskirts of a Southwestern city. We have limited our attention so that it includes not all the people in this area, but only those claiming Yaqui blood. We have had no interest in these "Yaquis" as a physical group; we are interested in them only as a social phenomenon and we have assumed that the claim of Yaqui blood defines them not as a group with certain physical, but rather certain social, characters and we have proceeded to describe those social characteristi

We have thus defined a "society" for purposes of study, a society which we have referred to (as the group refers to itself) as Pascua Village. The behaviour of the four hundred and twenty-nine individuals composing the village has been the fundamental data which we have observed.

The ultimate definition of the society is not, however, so simple. A full view of any society involves consideration of the total set of interactions between its human members. Thus, the society of Pascua Village must be considered to include not only those individuals who live in the given territory, but also others who do not live there but with whom the former interact. Our analysis of Pascua would be incomplete if we failed to take into account those whites and Mexicans who employ Pascuans as laborers, who sell them food and other goods, or who have relations of any kind with them. The impossibility of studying in detail all the individuals who compose Pascua society in this sense is at once apparent. Pascuans have contacts, either face-to-face or indirectly, with a host of persons who live in Tucson, elsewhere in Arizona, in Sonora, and even in more distant places. Moreover, Pascuans are to some extent in that "great society" which characterizes western life and which is almost world-wide in scope. But those individuals with whom Pascuans have more direct contacts, such as employers and storekeepers, could be and were studied. These non-Pascuans, whether white, Yaqui, Mexican, or Papago have therefore also been included in our "society."

The definition of the society cannot stop there. There are beings with whom Pascuans interact, in much the same manner as they interact with each other, who live neither in Pascua nor in any other clearly definable place. These are the dead relatives of Pascuans, other dead Yaquis, and certain deities, the most

important of the latter being Jesus and the Virgin Mary. The dead and the deities are clearly regarded as in the nature of beings as real as other Pascuans. We have pointed out that Pascuans interact with them in almost exactly the same general ways that they interact with visible and tangible individuals. They communicate with them by speech in the form of prayers, they exchange food and other goods for services with them (as, for example, on All Souls' Day), they maintain the expectation of reciprocal obligations with them and accordingly exchange services and cooperate with them. The deities and the dead are therefore members of the society in the sense that there is social interaction between them and the living.

The society of Pascua as we ultimately define it, then, is composed of Pascuans, non-Pascuans with whom the former have direct or face-to-face contacts, dead Yaquis, and gods, between all of whom there are certain observable relations manifest in various forms of behaviour. These relations may be considered to fix the individuals in a structure so that they maintain certain definite positions in relation to each other. When we describe these relations, we are defining the social organization of Pascua.

The Three Systems of Social Interaction

Each of the individuals composing the society acts towards others in certain prescribed ways. These defined modes of behaviour constitute the social personalities of individuals. We have dwelt at length on the different aspects of social personality in Pascua. That of a given individual will be affected by the following factors: whether or not he is male or female, older or younger in relation to others, married or unmarried, dead or living. These aspects of social personality are expressed within the limits of three distinct systems of social interaction. They may be distin-

guished as the kinship, the padrino, and the ceremonial society systems. Every Pascuan, dead or living, and the gods are involved in one or all of these three types of social relationships. Not everyone, however, is at present related to others through the kinship system, nor is everyone a member of a ceremonial society. Only the padrino system is universal in the village, including all within its network. It will be pointed out, however, that the ceremonial society system, despite its non-inclusive membership, is a more effective instrument for social unification of the village than is the padrino system. This effectiveness rests on the peculiar nature of the Virgin and Jesus as social personalities.

The kinship system is clearly fundamental in the whole social system which constitutes Pascua. It is the primary frame of reference in the social life for every person, whether he has actual kinship relations with other individuals or not. The other two systems are explained in practice ultimately in terms of it. We may consider, for example, the terminology of the padrino system. The terms used in the latter are in every case modifications of kinship terms. A ceremonial sponsor is a kind of father or mother. The person sponsored is a kind of son or daughter and ceremonial sponsors are "co-fathers" and "co-mothers" to each other as well as to the parents of the person sponsored. If the terms themselves were not so obviously modified kin terms, it would nevertheless be evident, from a consideration of the behaviour involved, that sponsorship is a partial extension of kinship. Aspects of child-parent relationships are basic in the system. The padrino system is, in other words, constructed very much like the kin system up to a certain point, but the extension of the kinship relations has resulted in the creation of a new type of relationship--that of compadres or "co-parents."

The kinship point of departure is evident also in the ceremonial society system, although it is not so explicit. The persons of Jesus and Mary who are central in the ceremonial society organization are regularly called 'itom 'a'ai and 'itom ai (our father and our mother). The relationships to these persons are interpreted by the maestros as well as by laymen in terms of the parent-child relationship, an interpretation which is of course no more characteristic of Yaquis than of other types of Roman Catholics. Moreover, the relationships between members of the same society are explained both formally at times of confirmation in the societies, and informally in ordinary conversations, in kinship terms. People say that members are "like brothers" to each other.

Evidently, then, the primary relationships of individuals correlated with blood connection constitute a frame of reference for persons in all the other formalized relationships. The basic relations developed in the households in intimate family groups are extended throughout the society and the values and behaviour patterns associated with them are fundamental in the practices as well as in the ideology, or terminology, of the whole social organization. Whatever may have been the nature of wider social groupings among Sonora Yaquis, that organization which has developed in Pascua is built up on a kinship base and these kinship-oriented organizations stand as the only effective instruments of social cooperation.

We have seen that the kinship system itself has apparently been reduced to a few fundamental relationships. It is narrowed in scope, and the relationships outside the essential elementary family have been generalized, there being evidence that they were once more particular in character. But these basic relations are sufficient to serve as primary instruments of orientation in the society as a whole. It is through the kinship structure that a

child is placed in the other social structures. The kinship relations include obligations on the part of parents to fix the position of a child in three or more padrino structures. We have seen that the kinship system is fulfilling this function effectively in Pascua at the present time, for no individual is without padrino relations. In addition, it is through the kinship structures that individuals are placed in the ceremonial society system. The nucleus of each society consists of persons who have been promised to the society by their parents as a part of the obligations attendant on kinship relations. This function of the kinship system is operative in the village, but we have seen that it is not brought to bear on every individual. Nevertheless, the ceremonial societies continue to exist by virtue of this function of the kinship system. The latter therefore appears in another way as basic in the total social structure.

The kinship system breaks the society up into small units, the household or kin groups. Its formalized relations provide means of interaction between only the members of the same groups. Within these groups it links persons in what we might call continuous vertical integration. The relationships are particularized through three generations: beyond that the ascending generations, whether dead or living, are linked in a generalized set of relationships. The kinship system does not, however, provide directly a means of interaction between the various kin groups. We have seen that affinal relations are relatively weak and that they are insufficiently formalized to provide effective channels for the establishment of relations between the discrete family units.

The padrino system, on the other hand, is a means whereby interaction between persons in the various family units are formalized. As a member of one or more padrino structures, each in-

dividual in the village enters into relationships with persons outside his particular kin group. Every household is linked to other households through this system. The relationships between persons in different padrino structures are not only of a ritual character; they are economic as well. We have previously described in detail these various relations. They link not only the households of Pascuans, but also those of Pascuans to Mexicans outside the village. It even happens that whites may be brought into the padrino system. The padrino system thus accomplishes a wider integration than does the kinship system. We might say that it is a means of integrating latterally the social units formed in terms of the kinship system.

The padrino system is an effective instrument for vertical integration as well. It differs from the kinship system in that it does not establish relationships between the living and the dead. It operates wholly within the world of the living. Here it accomplishes a vertical integration in a manner somewhat analogous to that of kinship. The padrino system formalizes relations between any three given successive living generations. It establishes channels of interaction between persons sponsored and their godparents in the generation next above them. The former are in turn linked to the generation below themselves by sponsoring persons from that generation. Thus both the padrino and kinship systems bring about vertical integration between successive generations.

It is the ceremonial society system which, through its lateral integration of persons, forms the village into a single social unit. Although the system does not link by its formal relations all the persons in the village, it nevertheless provides means whereby all may interact at different times for a common purpose. It is the only social structure in the village through which this

ever comes about. It extends the circle of ritual, social, and economic cooperation which the padrino system provides for any two given padrino structures to all the fundamental social units, that is, all the kin-linked households. It accomplishes this despite the fact that not all persons in the village belong to the ceremonial societies. The living members are chiefly men, those whose contacts with the surrounding culture are most extensive and intimate. The system also includes in its network the two unique social personalities of Jesus and the Virgin, differing in this from each of the other systems. Mary is a member, for example, of the matachín society, the latter existing in fact as a structure as much through the mutual obligations between goddess and men as through those between men alone. Similarly, the fariseo society has Jesus as a member. The fundamental relationship in any society is that between a man or a woman and a deity. The relationships between men and women in the societies may be considered incidental to the primary man-deity relationships. Relationships may be established between deities and persons not members of societies, as in the occasional offering of a candle to a diety with the expectation of help in curing; but these relationships are casual and temporary, while those existing between society members and deities are formalized and permanent.

The ceremonial societies are entrusted with the maintenance of the physical forms of the two chief gods--their images--and they are the means of defining anew these symbols in each ceremony in which they participate. The ritual forms of interaction between gods and men are the property of the ceremonial societies. The importance of the maintenance of these symbols may be understood when we realize that the structure of the societies

themselves is based so completely on supernatural sanctions. The fundamental sanction of the ceremonial society system is a supernatural one which may be defined as the expectation of death if ceremonial teki'panoa is not performed regularly by the members of the societies. The god must continue to exist as a definite being and as a member of a society if the sanction is to persist.

The mutual obligations of members, including the deities, are not the whole content of the ceremonial society system. There are obligations existing between the ceremonial society segments and the society of Pascua as a whole--the pueblo. These, like the others, are both ritual and economic. We have seen that the societies perform certain functions at every ceremony. It is the ceremonial societies which not only act as intermediaries in a direct way between the gods and the givers of the ceremony, but also effect economic cooperation of the village as a whole through the limosna and other activities. The ceremonial society system thus integrates the society in the widest sense in which it is integrated. It provides a means of interaction between all persons of all kin groups and all padrino groups. We might say in summary that the ceremonial society system is itself the society of Pascua. Pascua could not be spoken of as a social unity in the absence of the ceremonial society system.

The Fiesta: Periodic Re-Intergration of the Society

The institution through which the ceremonial society system chiefly operates is the fiesta, which it will be recalled is a type of ceremony which may take many different forms, a funeral being included equally with a saint's day observance in the type. These periodically occurring events are the only occasions on which the village exists as a functioning social unit, but they are frequent and their frequency is a factor in the preservation of

Pascua's cultural unity.

A complete analysis of any fiesta constitutes an analysis of Pascua society. The fiesta is an easily observable event in which are to be found in operation all the factors which work from within to maintain Pascua as a social and cultural unit. A study of the behaviour of individuals in connection with a fiesta gives an insight into the mechanism of internal maintenance of the society. The ceremonies at Easter constitute the most complete expression of the society, but any fiesta whatever illustrates the chief factors which contribute to its maintenance.

In a fiesta de promesa appear quite clearly the operation of the various types of interaction through which Pascua society exists. Any such fiesta begins and ends in a fundamental idea of the culture, namely, the belief in the mutual interaction of gods and men. A vow to give such a fiesta is made as a result, in all cases recorded, of a crisis in the life of an individual, an individual who is ill and is expected to die. The vow is made to Jesus or the Virgin or both that if assistance in curing is rendered the fiesta will be given in payment. If the individual gets well, the initial actions in fulfilling the vow are carried out by the person himself or by his relatives. The obligations are immediately extended to the whole kinship group. They assume the responsibility of providing food and other necessities for the fiesta and for organizing the activities of persons necessary in it. In fulfilling the economic obligations they enlist aid from the various padrino groups of which they are members. But the kinship and associated padrino groups cannot by themselves fulfill the vow simply by the provision of food, place, and paraphernalia; they are helpless without the assistance of the persons who are special devotees of the deities--the ceremonial society members.

The latter, acting through the means of their formalized system of relationships, first between themselves and the village as a whole, finally between themselves and the deity, produce the fiesta and thus fulfill the original obligation. This is the ultimate rhythm of the social life in Pascua: the appearance of an obligation as a result of crisis in an individual life and the fulfillment of that obligation with the cooperation of the whole village through the interaction of its social segments.

Each activity in the fiesta is further a concrete expression of the forms of social interaction existent in the village. The fiesta proceeds through a series of activities which serve to mark off each of the cooperating groups and to define their relationships to each other.

On the afternoon of the fiesta, its primary sponsors get things in readiness. The sponsoring kin group provides the place at its own household. It provides a ramada for an altar, a place for the dance society to dance--the two necessary items for interaction with a god. With the help of padrino groups to which its members belong, it provides food for the performers. Through the medium of the dance society's limosna, the family group is further assisted by the whole village. Meanwhile the ceremonial societies concerned have also been preparing. A te'masti of the male altar group has brought the crucifix which is in his keeping to the altar-table at the household and has arranged the altar there. He remains at the house.

In the afternoon the pascola dancers and their musicians come to the house, put on their costumes, and begin to dance. The other ceremonial performers, however, begin their part in the ceremony from the church, not the household. The activities which they carry out at the household are only an incident in a series

of events which has its base at the church. They start at the church and end there the following morning.

The dance of the pascolas has been going on for some time at the household before the ceremonial societies gather at the church. There, beginning about sunset, maestros conduct a few prayers or say a few rosaries. The matachín society, if the fiesta is primarily for the Virgin, gathers and dances briefly before the church, where the altar has been set up with crucifixes and Virgins. At the end of the dance the images of the Virgin are taken up by the ki'ostim and a procession is formed. It is headed by the matachinis, followed by the ki'ostim with the images, and finally by the maestros and cantoras. The procession goes from the church to the household, leaving the church altar bare. The matachinis dance at the head of the procession through the village to the place of the fiesta.

Meanwhile at the household another altar has been set up some distance from the house, usually to the east. The procession stops and deposits its images on this "encampamiento" altar. The matachinis stop dancing. From the house to the encampamiento come the givers of the fiesta (the kin group), bearing the te'masti crucifix and whatever household images they may possess. They are preceded by the pascolas and their drummer who dance ahead of them.

At the encampamiento a girl alpes (flag-bearer) as representative of the church group blesses the pascolas and the fiesteros (kin group), who kneel before the altar while the flag-bearer waves her flag over them. Then a female fiestera takes the flag, a fiestero makes a brief speech of welcome and is answered by the maestro or matachín leader on behalf of the church groups. The sacred organizations have now been properly related to the profane fiesteros and pascolas. As a single unified group, the procession

proceeds to the household altar, headed by the dancing matachinis and pascolas. The fiesteros, together with ki'ostim and the te'masti, carry the images back to the household altar. Arrived there, the fiestera with the flag of the alpes now proceeds to welcome all performers and spectators to her household by blessing them as they come up in pairs and kneel before the altar. She has been temporarily invested with the powers of the church; her kin group has been, as it were, taken into the church for the duration of the fiesta.

The pascolas go into their profane side of the ramada and begin to dance; the maestros and cantoras take up their places before the altar on the sacred side of the ramada; and the matachinis begin their dance outside the ramada facing the altar. The encampamiento remains the matachinis' church where they deposit their paraphernalia between dances. The maestros' chants, the pascolas' dances and chatter, the matachinis' dancing go on more or less independently of each other during the rest of the night.

Twice during the ceremony all the performers eat, the altar groups eating first, the matachinis next, and finally the pascolas, each performing group giving out food to their relatives or friends among the non-performers. At some time during the night, or possibly at the end of the ceremony, the fiesteros and padrinos, who have assisted in the fiesta, line up by the encampamiento altar and go through the hand-touching ritual.

In the morning after breakfast has been eaten by all, the reverse of the welcoming ritual is performed. There is a procession out to the encampamiento, where the church organizations take their leave of the fiesteros and pascolas. The maestro delivers a long sermon in which he goes over the reasons for holding the fiesta, announces the fulfillment of the obligation, and thanks the per-

formers in behalf of the village as a whole. The church organizations then leave in procession and march back to the church, where they place their images on the altar, the matachinis dance once more, and the fiesta is over.

This is the general pattern of a fiesta. A funeral, a death novena, a death anniversary, and a saint's day fiesta all follow approximately the same pattern. The essential features of ritual emphasizing the relationships between fiesteros, pascolas, padrinos, and ceremonial societies, setting them off from each other and indicating their functions in the fiesta and thus in the society, are present in all. The nature of the unity which characterizes Pascua society with its three closely inter-dependent systems of organization, achieving ultimate integration through the supernaturally controlled ceremonial societies, is explicit in the welcoming and departing ritual.

The Nature of the Conflict

Extra-Village Relations

The view of Pascua as an organized unity which we have just outlined has been achieved only by omitting from consideration the relationships of Pascuans with non-Pascuans. We have not referred to these relationships as constituting a "system." As a matter of fact, not all non-Pascuans are outside the three systems which we have described. Pascuans are in many kinship and padrino structures which extend outside the village into other Yaqui villages in Arizona, with members of which there is constant interaction. It is true also that a number of Mexicans have been brought into the kinship structures of Pascua and that numerous padrino structures of which Pascuans are parts include also Mexicans living either in the village or near it. But only Pascuans have roles in

the ceremonial society system of the village. Two of the systems which characterize Pascua society do, therefore, serve as means of interaction between Pascuans and non-Pascuans, but one of them does not.

It is, however, generally the case that the relationships of Pascuans with non-Pascuans, other than Yaquis, are not formalized along the lines of any of the three systems discussed. The characteristic of the latter is that any relationship defined by them does not change from time to time. Once established it is fixed and, throughout the lives of the two individuals recognizing it, it remains binding. A godchild and a godfather are such to each other throughout life. Every time they meet some form of behaviour characteristic of their relationship is evident. The same is, of course, true of father and son and other blood relatives. A matachini and the Virgin, a matachini and a matachini have fixed relations throughout life and also as 'animam after death. This permanency of relationship, with its continuing formalized behaviour and its organization of specific individuals in relation to each other, is not characteristic of the relations between Pascuans and non-Pascuans who are outside the three systems we have described. An American may be in the relationship of employer at one time to a Pascuan, but he does not always remain so. Each relationship is worked out to suit a specific occasion and the individual non-Pascuan involved is not then fixed in a permanent position in any system of relationships, but may move completely outside the society of Pascua within a few days or weeks. Specific relationships are established which at times are effective and at others are inoperative. It is here that we find an important contrast between relationships within the village and those which extend outside the village.

The employer-employee relationships into which Pascuans enter play an important part, as we have seen, in their lives. In these it may be pointed out, in the first place, that the symbols of social personality which run through the other relationships are, with one exception, absent. The idea of the patron of which some use is made in the ceremonial society system is the only symbol in evidence; the kinship symbols (terms) and their variants are never applied in these relationships as they are in the village ones. Much as members of a ceremonial society sometimes speak of the deity to whom they are dedicated as their patron, so Pascuans use the term for their employers. The idea is present in the village that an employer ought to remain interested in an employee even though the latter has not worked for him for some time. The older Pascuans, especially, sometimes make the effort, when they are hard up, to seek out a former employer and get financial assistance from him; they personalize the employer as patrón and show a definite expectation of a mutual assistance type of behaviour from him. However, during 1936-1937, no successful attempts of this kind were recorded, although several were made. In other words, extra-village economic relationships are interpreted to some extent in terms of the familiar ceremonial society system; but this interpretation is only on the part of Pascuans and does not work the other way.

In the second place, the employer-employee relationships provide no basis for interaction of Pascuan with Pascuan. As employees, Pascuans do not, except in the cotton-picking season, act together. Pascuans work and secure jobs on ranches, railroads, and elsewhere, as individuals. The Pistola system which attempted to establish an economic basis of cooperation between Pascuans by the method of group employment broke down. According to statements

of persons who worked under the system, it was abandoned by them because they found that they could get their own jobs as they became more experienced and that they could make more money when they did not have to pay any out to Pistola. The employer-employee relations have, in other words, operated to release persons from group controls in at least that aspect of economic life concerned with production. They have not fostered any sense of group concern over the means of subsistence. Looked at in this way, then, the employer-employee relationships are a disintegrating factor. They do not operate to bring Pascuans together in any activity, and they do operate to make them act without regard to other Pascuans in economic production.

However, the economic relationships cannot all be defined in the same terms. We have seen, for example, that they vary with the season of the year. In the cotton-picking season Pascuans do hire out in groups, that is, in family groups. They are employed by families to a great extent and when they leave the village for the cotton fields they go together and not only live, but also work, in family groups through the cotton-picking season. In one view, the cotton-picking season with its scattering of families over southern Arizona is a factor for disintegration of the society: bringing about the practical desertion of the village, it disrupts the community life. On the other hand, it serves to increase family solidarity. It periodically forces families to become closely cooperating social units and during this period the families are more isolated from the urban type of environment than they are in Pascua. A survey of cotton-picking families who had moved out of the village to the ranches for the season indicated also that Yaqui families tend to congregate at the same ranches. In general, therefore, it may be said that the production aspect of economic life,

although it provides no basis for general cooperation of Pascuans, is nevertheless not wholly a disintegrating factor in the social life.

This somewhat generalized approach does not suffice for an evaluation of the rôle of economic relationships in the society of Pascua. It is necessary to point out again a very real conflict which exists between activities demanded by making a living and those growing out of the social system which we have described. Before we do this, however, we may pass briefly over the other important extra-village relationships. One of these in the economic field is that of buyer-seller, with the Pascuans always in the buyer situation. Here the sellers are more or less permanent social personalities, a great deal more so than are the employers. The ones whom Pascuans have come to know and deal with as individuals are the Chinese storekeepers of Tucson and the travelling hucksters and butchers who come to the village daily. These are the ones who have specialized in the Yaqui trade. They seek to adjust their stocks to Yaqui (and Mexican, which differ little in the matter of food from Yaqui) wants. In a community where outside trade is a constant necessity, a travelling trader is a force not for change but for stability and conservatism. He assists voluntary segregation, permitting the Yaqui women to remain in their village to do their shopping. Here again, the economic life, while perhaps in the long run being a factor for assimilation, is nevertheless, when viewed closely in the details of its operation, a factor also making for the maintenance of the society as distinct from the surrounding one, or in other words, a factor retarding economic assimilation.

It is possible to view the courts of the county and city also as contributing to conflict within Pascua culture. The basic

point of view of the courts is that of individual responsibility for crime, while the older Yaquis still hold to a principle based on a different view. The remembered system of punishment for crimes in Sonora Yaqui villages was based on collective responsibility. A convicted person was lashed three times for his father, three times for his mother, etc. Pascuans do not make a great deal of use of the Tucson legal system, but we have seen that they do go to court of their own accord. They believe in general that it is good and do not show any awareness of a contradiction between its principles and their own. These extra-village relations through the courts may be viewed, therefore, not as a source of overt, easily observable culture conflict, but as a slow-working factor opposing the present social system and probably striking deeply at the foundations of the kinship system.

Leadership vs. the Job

We may now return to a further consideration of the nature of the employer-employee relationships and their conflict with the other social relations of Pascuans. It has been pointed out at length in the chapter on economics that the job pattern of the surrounding culture has by no means been fully accepted. In the first place, the level of subsistence of Pascuans is below even what the charity organizations of Tucson consider the minimum. Moreover the estimates of villagers tend to be below this minimum; there is in general no evidence that it is desired that it be higher. There have grown up no distinctions as to social status between rich and poor. No ideology of saving and future utilization of money has yet developed. All this indicates that Pascuans have not been assimilated to the outside economic life. Something other than the drives at work there operate in determining the place of Pascuans in productive economic life. It will be our

contention here that these drives have their source in the character of the social system which we have described in the early part of this chapter and that there is a fundamental conflict in the society of Pascua resulting from the play of outside and inside economic motives in the village.

It may be suggested that the system of social relations in which a Pascuan finds himself, which periodically demands fiestas which are expensive and thus prohibitive of accumulation, is an important factor working against the acceptance of the surrounding economic patterns. Particularly does this seem important when we consider that social status in the village is related to the proper recognition of the demands of the fiesta pattern. Accumulations go to relatives and compadres who are faced with the necessity for giving a fiesta. In addition, the many activities involved in the fiesta system, whether or not one is a member of a ceremonial society, would seem to be important in hindering the adoption of working habits which are regular and in conformity with the patterns to which employers adhere. No doubt these conditions which we have mentioned should be considered in a complete analysis of the relationship between Pascua economic and social life; it seems likely that there should be conflicts along these lines working themselves out in the culture. We have, however, seen that it is possible to accumulate a little property and at the same time maintain active participation in the ceremonial life of the village, even the maintenance of important places in the village life, such as head te'masti. We have seen that for the majority of ceremonial society members there is a minimum of conflict between holding a job and performing ceremonial duties. Not all members of a society are necessary for any given fiesta. Moreover, fiestas are held on the days of the week, whenever pos-

sible, which do not conflict with the demands of jobs. Hence these conflicts, although they do exist, are not acute. Accordingly they are difficult to observe and, in fact, escape all but the most intensive means of investigation. A discussion of their part in Pascua culture will have to await more detailed observation.

A conflict more readily observable and one which seems to strike at the roots of the culture in its present form is, however, connected with the demands of the ceremonial and the job patterns. This is the conflict of leadership in a male ceremonial society with the necessities for maintaining a living for one's family. We have seen that the demands of leadership were not considered compatible with a job by Ángel Acuña, the man who was elected matachín leader in 1930. He accordingly slipped into the role of an ordinary matachín dancer and his position was taken over by one of the few men in the village who had no family and no interest whatever in economic activity, Tomás Álvarez. Further, it was apparent that the extensive demands on the time of Ignacio Álvarez, the leader of the fariseo society, conflicted with his desire to hold a steady job for the support of his family. Despite his decision to risk his job by a month's lay-off at Easter, he nevertheless incurred the disapproval of the village by his apparent greater attention to his job than to his ceremonial duties at other times. This conflict resulting from the demands of the two patterns of behaviour was apparent in the manner and actions of the man himself.

These facts seem to indicate an important conflict. They are not instances of individual maladjustment with small significance for the society as a whole. They are conflicts in the lives of men who hold positions which are vital for the continuance of the society. If those positions cannot be filled the present

character of the ceremonial organization will have to be altered or it will break down altogether. That they are filled only with difficulty is evidenced in the history of the matachin leadership. The exacting duties of a ceremonial leader, as they are now formulated, are not compatible with holding a job and supporting a family in the manner set by the surrounding culture. Men may still be sufficiently under the influence of Pascua culture to wish to be leaders in it, but they are then confronted with the physical impossibility of doing the two things at once. The conflict which we are examining here is not a vague and slow-working replacement of one set of cultural values by another; it is rather an acute conflict between specific activities demanded by institutions.

The society itself is not providing a means for resolving this conflict. There is no institution by which a ceremonial leader may be fully supported, so that he can devote full time to his ceremonial duties, although such an institution is reported by Beals amongst the Sonora Mayos. The compromises which a leader makes are necessarily ad hoc and do not follow a pattern or create a tradition. The conflict is recognized only by the individual who finds himself confronted with the insoluble problem of serving the ceremonial interests of the village at the same time that he tries to serve the economic interests of himself and his family. This is true despite the fact that the ceremonial society system, as we have indicated, is the ultimate integrating factor in Pascua society.

The Decay of the Animal Gods

There is another disharmony in the culture of Pascua which cannot be so readily interpreted as a conflict between activities demanded within one system of relations and those demanded in

another. The disharmony which is meant is that between the older animal gods and the developing Christian gods. It has, no doubt, been working for a long time. Our analysis, in view of the lack of detailed comparative data, can be little more than suggestive. But it is worthwhile undertaking because it has a bearing on the problem of the relation between the economic and other aspects of the culture. The condition of existence in Pascua are such that no sense of intimate dependence on the natural environment is present. It is suggested here that this condition is closely connected with certain attitudes and practices which are observable in the ceremonial life. Some of the gods are, we might say, changing their social personalities--gods whom we may specifically name as the deer, the horned toad, the snake, and some other small ground-living animals. These gods have not disappeared yet, but there is evidence from the study of Pascua that they are at least suffering profound alterations. As they change, certain institutions connected with them also change. The ones which we shall consider are the pascolas and the deer-dancer. An examination of them in the form of a comparison with other ritual dancers, such as the matachinis, seems to give some idea of the manner in which the gods change.

If we contrast the deer-dancer, the pascola, and the matachini, considering them for the moment as "culture traits" in the manner of the anthropologists, it is possible to draw some conclusions as to the nature of the change. It is clear from the data previously given that the deer-dancer is the most thoroughly aboriginal of the three; his costume, the music to which he dances, the dance itself are all without European influence. He is one of the few, perhaps the only institution, about which such a statement may be made. The pascola, as we have noted, is a curious

combination of aboriginal and European influences; it is sufficient to recall here that he dances half the time to European music and instruments and half to aboriginal. The matachini, on the other hand, is predominantly European in character: music, dance figures, even costume show few characteristics which may confidently be called aboriginal. If we go further in our contrast and attempt to arrange these three types of dancers in the order of their importance in Arizona Yaqui ceremony, we find that the deer-dancer (who is most aboriginal in character) is the least important, while the matachini (the least aboriginal) is an important figure and is completely integrated with the rest of the ceremonial life. If we cannot say that the pascola is definitely less important than the matachini, we can nevertheless say that he is more important than the deer-dancer. It must be pointed out, however, that he remains somewhat outside the ceremonial pattern set by the church organizations and that his place in the ritual life shows certain contradictions. These statements require further elaboration.

Although the deer-dancer is a colorful figure in ceremony, he does not appear often. He is further not essential in any of the ceremonies in which he does appear. It is entirely optional with him whether or not he dance, since he belongs to no ceremonial society. When he does appear at a ceremony it is obvious that he has the least connection of any dancer with the church organization, and he remains more aloof even than the pascolas from the Catholic ritual which goes on about him during a night of ceremony.

The pascola, on the other hand, is absolutely essential at at least one type of ceremony--the child funeral. He also appears at many others. But just as in the music to which he dances there is a dual character, so there is a dual quality in his ceremonial participation. He shows, on the one hand, a certain

connection with the church organizations and their activities; on the other, he seems to be a purely secular figure. He is outside the ceremonial organization, but he makes use of Christian doctrine in his ritual speeches. He burlesques the church groups, but he marches with them in processions. He prays, but he serves a fiesta crowd rather than a deity. His dual character is recognized in myths current in the village which relate his origin to the devil although they recognize his importance in Yaqui ritual.

There are no such contradictions in the activities of the matachinis. They are essential and important at many ceremonies. As members of a ceremonial society, they have no choice about performing. Everything that they do is coordinated with the church groups.

Explanations of the places of these various ritual dancers in the culture are suggested in some of the data which we have thus far used. An explanation can be made in terms of the economic life the social structure, and the values and symbols in terms of which Arizona Yaqui society is at present organized; in other words, the situation may be explained as a part of a larger whole with which it is consistent. However, an explanation might also be made in terms of the specific historic events which have preceded the present situation. Both types of explanation will be attempted here.

An explanation in terms of function may be briefly indicated. It can be pointed out, for example, that Yaqui life in Arizona goes on independently of any direct connection with the natural environment. Arizona Yaquis never hunt. They do not even practice agriculture except in the capacity of day-laborers on ranches. Against this background, it may be seen that a dance concerned with the deer-hunt or with animals and their ways would have little relation to the realities of life.

Lack of relationship to the economic life may be an explanation for the small importance of the deer-dance, but what relationship does the matachin dance bear to the economic life and the rest of the culture? It seems clear that matachin dancing has no more direct relation with the economic life than does the deer-dance, but it has a number of links with other aspects of the culture. The matachinis constitute a ceremonial society. The ritual dance is only one of several functions which the society performs and the matachinis are only one of several other societies. These societies are the only mechanisms for bringing about community and inter-community cooperation. Evidently, therefore, the matachinis and their dance are closely connected with an important aspect of the social organization. They are, moreover, connected with the ritual pattern in a way that the deer-dancer is not. They are devotees of the Virgin who is important as one of the two major deities in Arizona Yaqui life. The matachin dance itself is a recognition of the powers of the Virgin in curing disease; it is connected with an important function of the deity. The dance of the matachinis is thus bound up in the details of the social and ritual life and derives its importance in the culture from this whole complex.

The situation of the pascolas in relation to the rest of the culture is not so clear as that of the matachinis. They are not concerned with curing nor with either of the major deities. They are sometimes considered to be dedicated to the other deity, Jesus, but this connection seems rather to be in process of formation and is not yet established. The importance of the pascolas seems to be related to their role as ritual intermediaries between ceremonial societies and the households. They are clearly related to the culture at more points than is the deer-dancer, but their

relationship is not so extensive as is that of the matachinis.

This sort of explanation does not take into consideration certain aspects of the problem which are implicit in our contrast of the dancers in terms of their degree of aboriginality. When we made that contrast, we were thinking of history. If the deer-dancer shows old or aboriginal characters and the matachini shows new or European ones, is there any point in relating these facts as to historical origins to the question of relative importance in Yaqui culture? It seems that they suggest an hypothesis as to the course of development of Yaqui culture in recent times. They indicate that the culture has changed in response to certain conditions, that it may be organized at present on a base different from what it formerly was. We can ask certain questions on the basis of our data with reference to the nature of those changes: does the present position of the deer-dancer represent an adjustment of the culture to a condition of decreased importance of the natural environment in Yaqui life? Does the importance of the matachini indicate an increasing importance of curing in the ritual and social life or does it indicate merely a narrowing of the range of interests expressed in the ritual and ceremony? Answers to these questions can come only from extended investigation of Yaqui culture in Sonora, but some data are available.

We have pointed out that the deer-dancer does not appear at all the ceremonies at which he might appear in Arizona at present. He seems, in other words, to be losing ground. Moreover, the older Arizona Yaquis recall that even since their arrival in the United States, the ritual connected with the deer-dancer has decreased in complexity. He was formerly much more intimately associated with the pascolas and went through an elaborate mock deer-hunt with them at the close of every fiesta in which he ap-

peared. This is not done now in Arizona. A recent observer reports that in Sonora the deer-hunt is still carried out in elaborate fashion and that the association between deer-dancer and pascolas¹ is still close. In fact, the accounts of observers confuse the² types of dancers, referring sometimes to all as deer-dancers. This confusion would be impossible in Arizona. (It might be added that two other types of dancers representing animals, the coyotes and the matu'pari, have disappeared within the past ten years among Arizona Yaquis.) These facts would seem to confirm us in positing some relationship between changing economic conditions affecting Yaqui culture as a whole and the forms of the ritual dance.

A minor piece of evidence is available in connection with the matachinis in this respect. The older Arizona Yaquis say that the matachin dance has rain-making functions, but this is not seriously entertained by American-born Yaquis. Further investigation among Sonora Yaquis would be necessary for satisfactory determination of the older functions of the matachinis. Certainly the matachinis in Arizona are now generally considered to be connected only with curing disease.

There is another aspect of the situation which may be dwelt on briefly. Is there any way of describing what is happening in Arizona Yaqui culture, as indicated in our data, in terms which have been used in the description of other specific events involving cultural change? It seems that we might attempt to make use of the concept "secularization" and its opposite. It is suggested that the deer-dancer is undergoing a process of seculariza-

¹Ralph L. Beals, "Present-Day Yaqui-Mayo Culture" (Manuscript).

²W. C. Holden et al. Studies of the Yaqui Indians of Sonora, Mexico. Texas Technological College Bulletin (Lubbock, Texas: Texas Technological College, January, 1936), XII, No. 1, p. 59; Francisco Dominguez, "Costumbres Yaquis," Mexican Folkways (Mexico: July, 1937), p. 19.

tion in response to the conditions affecting Yaqui culture in Arizona, that the matachinis have incorporated into the culture certain elements which were once not a part of it but which are now sanctified in it as part of the matachin complex, and that the pascola is at an intermediate stage of sanctification into Yaqui culture in its present form.

We have seen that the deer-dancer, while still a participant in ceremony, is surrounded by secular attitudes. His appearance depends on conditions dictated by personal considerations. A fieftero may feel that he does not want to spend the money necessary for the food for the dancer and his musicians, or the deer-dancer himself may not care to dance. Nothing will happen to anyone if the latter does not appear. He is not an essential in the ceremonial pattern. The deer-dancer's activities are furthermore gradually being disassociated from those of the pascolas. As this happens, his connection with those aspects of the culture which are supernaturally sanctioned, the church organizations, becomes tenuous. He is gradually becoming a performer, pure and simple.

The matachini, however, is undergoing no such process of secularization. Matachinis must dance at certain times. If they do not, both the dead and their patroness, the Virgin, would be displeased, and this would affect the village as a whole as well as specific individuals and families. Whatever may have been the importance of the matachinis at a former time, they are now important and what is associated with them, European music and types of dance, the Virgin and Catholic doctrine concerning the Holy Family, are important also. We do not know the historical facts in connection with the association of these traits with the matachinis, but the result of the fusion is clear. The matachin com-

plex contains certain things which were once not a part of Yaqui culture but which are now fully sanctified in it.

The pascolas seem to be in process of sanctification as much as the deer-dancer is in process of secularization. It seems to be optional with him whether or not he dance, but it is not optional with a padrino who is responsible for a child funeral whether or not he have a pascola. He must have one and one is always found. The pascola has certain duties to perform which involve Catholic ritual and there is some association of him with Jesus, in the minds of Pascuans, if not in actual formalized terms. We find a general interest in stories which reconcile the pascolas' activities with Christian mythology and we find also numerous interpretations of the pascolas' paraphernalia and functions in Christian terms. In other words, it appears that there are attempts to adjust the pasc-ola to the prevailing ceremonial pattern.

Perhaps we may sum up this analysis in the following way. Arizona Yaqui ceremonialism is moving from a former system based on intimate connection with the natural environment indicated in the deer-songs and in the animal dances of the pascolas, to a pattern which is not closely related to the natural environment. The new basis is primarily concerned with curing, which remains the chief area of existence in which secular techniques do not seem adequate. With weather, crop control, and success in hunting no longer important, ritual and ceremony find their base in the uncertainties of health. Moreover, the purely social functions of the matachinis, as a group organized to effect social and economic cooperation in the village, give their ritual and symbols an importance in the society beyond mere curing. The deer-dancer has no relevance to the new orientation and is assuming an increasingly secular position. The matachinis, on the other hand, indicate the

nature of the present integration of the society. They are supported by the recently adopted symbol of the Virgin and derive their meaning from present ideas in regard to curing. Their modern-looking trappings are not in this case an indication of cultural disintegration; they indicate rather an at least temporarily successful fusion of old and new.

The Hypothesis of Functional Inconsistency

The notion that societies are composed of parts (institutions, customs, social structures they may be called) which work together in some fashion to produce harmoniously functioning wholes has recently been given currency through the writings of Malinowski and his students.¹ The idea is, of course, not new; it is to be found, for example, in various forms in the conceptions of Spencer,² Boas,³ and Durkheim.⁴ Radcliffe-Brown has in the past few years attempted to formulate the idea with some precision. He says, for example:

Such a view implies that a social system (the total social structure of a society together with the totality of social usages, in which that structure appears and on which it depends for its continued existence) has a certain kind of unity, which we may speak of as a functional unity. We may define it as a condition in which all parts of the social system work together with a sufficient degree of harmony or internal consistency, i.e., without producing persistent conflicts which can neither be resolved nor regulated.⁵

¹See, e.g., Bronislaw Malinowski, "Culture," Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1931), IV, 621-645, and H. Ian Hogbin, Law and Order in Polynesia (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1934), p. 290 especially.

²Herbert Spencer, The Principles of Sociology (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1925), I, 447-462.

³It is not easy to find a definite formulation of this view in Boas' writings, but the following is indicative: Franz Boas, The Mind of Primitive Man (Revised ed.; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938), pp. 186-189.

⁴Emile Durkheim, Le suicide (2nd ed.; Paris: 1911).

⁵A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, "On the Concept of Function in Social Science," American Anthropologist, New Series, Vol. XXXVII, (1935), No. 3, p. 397.

Following up this conception, he goes on to say:

. . . . a society that is thrown into a condition of functional disunity or inconsistency will not die, except in such comparatively rare instances as an Australian tribe overwhelmed by the white man's destructive force, but will continue to struggle toward some kind of social health, and may, in the course of this, change its structural type.¹

The present study was in part inspired by an interest in the question of functional inconsistency. The situation in Pascua Village was originally seen as one in which functional inconsistencies might be found. The first statement of the problem as an inquiry into the relations between the economic and other aspects of the culture had implicit in it the expectation of discovering an inconsistency between the economic and, for example, the ceremonial life. The study called for some analysis of the conflicts apparent in the behaviour of individuals participating in these two aspects of the culture. Some conflicts which were discovered have been outlined in the present chapter.

The first of the two major ones which were singled out for analysis, that between the demands of leadership in a ceremonial society and the demands of job-holding, might be classified as a functional inconsistency. The conflicts which we have described in connection with ceremonial leadership are a cute instances of conflicts which are to be found in greater or less degree in the lives of most Pascua men. The conflict may be described in broadest terms as one between the job pattern and the ceremonial pattern. The job pattern is one which exists in connection with a complex set of institutions and status-conferring mechanisms characteristic of American society as a whole. The ceremonial pattern is one which exists also in connection with a complex set of institutions and status-conferring mechanisms characteristic, however, only of the Yaqai minority

¹Ibid., p. 398.

in Arizona. The latter can exist only if the men of Pascua continue a measure of participation in the job pattern. It, as much as individuals themselves, requires economic support. Working in the job pattern outside the village, individuals become responsive to it; they come to desire to hold a steady job, to make more money, to purchase more things, in other words, to participate more fully in the job pattern with its accompanying set of institutions. We find individuals, at least two, who are still living in Pascua who have rejected the claims of the ceremonial pattern almost completely and have done this quite definitely for the purpose of participating more fully in the job pattern. Juan Valencia, the dairyman-matachini, is such an example. He still maintains kinship and padrino relations in the village, but he neither participates in nor attends ceremonies. To Pascuans, he is "like a Mexican."

All the adult males of Pascua are classifiable in categories according to the degree of their response to the respective patterns of job and ceremony. At one end of the classification would be Juan Valencia, the dairyman; at the other end would be Tomás Álvarez, the matachin leader. There is little or no conflict for Valencia who has become responsive only to the job pattern, and there is no conflict for Álvarez who has become completely unresponsive to the job pattern. Acute conflict appears only in the case of individuals, like Ignacio Álvarez the fariseo leader, who are considerably responsive to both patterns.

We thus see a condition in Pascua society which is producing "persistent conflicts." We may speak of these conflicts as arising between economic and ceremonial institutions, but we have observed that they are to be studied as a collection of conflicts of varying intensity in the daily activities of specific persons. Radcliffe-Brown suggests that a functional inconsistency

exists when the "persistent conflicts can neither be resolved nor regulated." We have called attention to the fact that the conflict which we have been discussing is not being resolved by regulation proceeding from any of the groups concerned. It is being continually resolved, however, by Yaqui individuals, who reduce the amount of their participation in Pascua culture. In the first place, leadership in a society may be avoided, then active participation in a society may be gradually reduced. An individual may drift out of contact with the ceremonial society system, yet remain within the padrino and kinship systems, and also remain as a resident of Pascua. There are individuals whose life is characterized by such partial participation in Pascua culture, individuals who have not gone so far as Juan Valencia, but who are moving in that direction. This process may be carried farther. There are Yaquis who have married Mexicans and moved away into the Mexican community. There is no caste line preventing such voluntary movement out of Pascua society. There is, thus, a kind of resolution of the conflict, a resolution carried out individual by individual. The conflict is not regulated by the society in the sense that there is modification or adjustment of institutions to each other. It is regulated only through the process of all developing foci of conflict removing themselves outside the society into the surrounding one.

The other conflict which we have mentioned may also be classified as a functional inconsistency. It is at the same time a great deal more complex and a great deal less acute than the other. In general it might be described as an inconsistency between economic production activities and a minor aspect of the ceremonial life. The deer-dance and the animal associations of the pascolas are no longer relevant to the economic life or to any

other aspect of life in Pascua. In response to this situation there are minor conflicts in the culture, observable only in conflicting attitudes towards the ceremonial performers. There is no conflict in daily activities demanded by the two inconsistent aspects of the culture. The animal gods have so far decayed already that they make few demands of those who still maintain relations with them. They are losing their social personalities through the decay of the ceremonies which personalize and define them. They might be said to be passing out of Pascua culture much as are the individuals who become responsive to the job pattern. Their participation becomes only partial and less and less and frequent. But at the same time that they are passing out of the culture one of the institutions associated with them, the pascola dancers, is becoming associated with the new deities and is thus remaining in the culture.

The removal of the pascolas from a former, now irrelevant, ceremonial context and their integration into a new and at present vital one seems to be an example of what Radcliffe-Brown meant in saying that when a functional inconsistency exists in a society, "it [the society] will not die but will continue to struggle toward some kind of social health." The aboriginal ceremonial pattern is being fused effectively with the Christian pattern, and the pascolas, a last remnant of the former, are still in process of fusion.

However, if we are to take the "struggle toward some kind of social health" as a part of the hypothesis of functional inconsistency, then how are we to account for the failure of the society of Pascua to adjust its primary conflict--that between leadership and jobs? We have pointed out that the only sort of adjustment that is being carried on is that by individual persons

and that it consists chiefly in a process of moving out of Pascua society--a resolution of the conflict which can result ultimately only in the extinction of the culture, not in its re-integration on a new basis. It seems that we might re-state the hypothesis: When a society is faced with a functional inconsistency, and a way is presented to resolve the crisis as it is manifest in the lives of the individuals by their withdrawal, either into the old system or out of the society, there need occur no cultural resolution of the inconsistency--even though the disappearance of the culture result.

It becomes clear, in the light of this modification of the hypothesis, that we have been dealing with two distinct kinds of functional inconsistencies in Pascua culture. That involving the pascolas is being resolved in the manner predicted by the original hypothesis. The irrelevance of the animal associations to the present ceremonial system is resulting in their reformulation in Christian terms. The deer-dancer is passing out of the culture, but the pascola is not. His performance has too important a place in the system of padrino relations which continue to be vital in the integration of the society. Moreover, as ceremonial host he served to link the profane crowd with the sacred activities characteristic of the fiesta. This aspect of his social function continues, and it becomes necessary merely to re-interpret him in terms of the newer basis of ceremony, namely, to link him by myth and ritual to the functioning Christian deities. This, as we have seen, is being done; he is coming to be associated with Jesus, and even the animals to whom he traditionally appeals are now spoken to as saints. The resolution of an inconsistency is, in other words, taking place entirely in terms of Yaqui-Christian culture. The latter has moved away from a former base, but as this happens, it

takes with it as an integral feature the pascola who is modified to fit the newer system of concepts. This amounts to change within the pattern of determinants of present-day Yaqui culture.

The other functional inconsistency which involves leadership in the ceremonial societies is not being resolved in the same way. Observing from without, we can imagine a solution which would be consonant with Yaqui culture. The leaders of the matachinis and the fariseos, for example, might be provided with food and clothing by the villagers and thus be freed to devote themselves to the work of their respective societies. Such a solution would be in harmony with the values set up by the ceremonial system, but there seems to be no tendency in this direction. The actual history of ceremonial participation and leadership points to an entirely different type of solution. Individual Yaquis react to the inconsistency, but their response is to become, culturally speaking, Mexicans and thus, in greater or less degree, to cease to be Yaquis. There is, therefore, no adjustment of the elements of Yaqui culture to each other in the face of the conflict, that is, no cultural resolution of the inconsistency. It is this consideration which requires modification of the hypothesis.

In conclusion, we may emphasize the difference between the two kinds of changes which are taking place. The distinct character of the phenomena might be made clear by utilizing some such distinction as that between "culture" and "society." The culture of a group of individuals consists in the system of common understandings by which they relate themselves to material objects, to supernatural beings, and to each other. Some of the understandings which Pascuans share with each other in their culture are going through a process of modification in response to a new economic environment, and consequently an old feature of the culture, the pascola,

is undergoing fundamental changes. This takes place with no important disorganization, since the change is guided by already developed concepts with which most Pascuans are familiar. It is an instance of the constant harmonizing of part with part which occurs in any developing culture, through the unceasing interaction of person with person. However, Pascuans do not interact only with Pascuans. They are a part of the society of Tucson; that is, they have social relations with individuals in Tucson and therefore constitute with the latter an aggregate of interacting persons. To some extent they have common understandings with persons of Tucson, but interaction with them does not necessarily mean that the activities have the same meanings for Pascuans as for persons of Tucson. The Pascuan interpretation of an employer as a "patrón," it will be recalled, was not shared by Tucsonans. Pascuans whose lives reveal the job pattern-ceremonial pattern conflict are members of both Pascua society and Tucson society, but the job may have either Tucson or Pascua meanings for them. To the extent that it has Tucson meanings for an individual, he withdraws from Pascua society. It is in this connection that we find changes taking place in the society, but not in the culture, of Pascua. The society making use of Pascua culture is losing members. The culture continues to exist and even in certain respects to develop, but its existence is definitely threatened by the gradual reduction of the society which finds the¹ culture usable.

¹The writer is especially indebted to Dr. Robert Redfield for suggestions in the formulation of the modified hypothesis of functional inconsistency and in the development of the ideas set forth on pp. 332-334.

